is out of the separate jurisdiction of any State, foreign or demestic. It affords no protection when it
comes within the scope and jurisdiction of laws
which forbid the exutence of Slavery. I do not
mean to go into a long argument upon this subject.
I did intend at one time to take it up and discuss
it very fully. I have thought it beat, however, under all the circums ances of the case, merely to
express these brief opinions which I entertain in
whating to it. In my collision, therefore, the supporelation to it. In my opinion, therefore, the suppo-sition that the Constitution of the United States carries Slavery into California, supposing her not to be a State is an assumption totally unwarranted by the Constitution. Why, if the Constitution gave the privilege, it would be incompetent for California to adopt the provisions which california to adopt the provisions which she has in her Constitution. The Constitution of the United States, being supreme, no State could pass an enactment in contravention of the Constitution. My rules of interpreting the Constitution of the United States are the good old rules of '95. I have never in my life deviated from those rules, and what are they? The Constitution is an aggregate of coded power. No power is granted, except when it is expressly delegated, or when it is necessary and proper to carry lato effect a delegated power; and if in any instance the power to carry slaves into the Territories is guarantied to you by the Constitution, or is an incident necessary to the carrying out of any other power that is delegated in the Constitution, I have been unable to perceive it amid all the vicis situdes of public life, and amid all the changes and turns of party. I never in my life have deviated from these great fundamental and I think indisputably tree principles of interpreting the Constitution of the United States. Take these principles to be true, and where is the power? Can anybody point it out to me? What gives you a right to carry your slaves to California? Where is the delegated power, or the power to which it attaches as necessary implication? It is nowhere to be found. You must resort to some such general principle as the Federalists did in the early history of this country, when they contended for the doctrine of general welfare. But you cannot putyour linger upon that part of the Constitution which conveys the right of the power to carry slaves from one of the States of the Union to any Territory of the United States. Mr. President, you will remark that I am expressing an opinion upon the power, can I admit for a lingle moment, that there is any separate or distinct right upon the part of States or individual time right upon the part of States or individual to a lingle moment, that there is any separate or distinct right upon the part of States or individual.

distinct question. I am argaing the question of Constitutional power. Nor, Sir, can I admit for a slogle moment, that there is any separate or distinct right upon the part of States or individual members of the Union, or any portion of the populo of the United States, to carry slaves into the Territories, under the idea that those Territories are held in common between the several States. It is a joint property, held by a common trastee, for the general good, and to be administered by the general Government according to its deliberate judgment of what will best promots the common happiness and prosperity, and do justice to all. If, therefore, I am right in these opinions which I have expressed, to run a line at 35°, or 36° 30° through California, without declaring what the effect of that line shall be either South or North of it, it would, I repeat, be running a line in the sand—a line without motive, without purpose, without acline without motive, without purpose, without ac-complishing any end whatever. Therefore, I must say, that those Senators upon the other side, who have contended for an express recognition of the right to carry Slaves South of that line, have con-tended for something much more perfect and effi-cient than to run a marked line without any such declaration. But there are two considerations which oppose insuperable objections to any such recognition or declaration to carry Slaves South of that line. The first is that you cannot do it with that line. The first is that you cannot do it with out an assumption of power upon the part of Congress to act upon the institution of Slavery; and if they have the power in one way, they have the power to act upon it the other way, and the power to act upon it the other way, and the power to act upon it the other way, and the power to act upon it either way is what you have denied, opposed and endeavored to prevent being accomplished for the last two or three years. It would be an assumption, according to the Southern doctrine, for Congress to exercise any power cither side of a given line. The other objection to accomplishing the object is that it is impracticable and unattainable. A majority neither of this body not of the House, not one-third probably of this body, and perhaps still a smaller pertion of the other House, could be got to alliem any right of transporting slaves of North 36° 30°. It is then wrong in principle and impracticable and inexpedient.

pedient.

Why, then, contend, let me ask, for a line which, if attainable at all, is attainable without value, without accessity, without advantage to the South or why attempt that which is utterly usattainable.

or why attempt that which is all years an express provision for the power or right on the part of the slavehold or to carry his slaves South of it!

Having endeavored to show that this measure which we have under consideration is better for the South than the line of 36 30, let me compare the measure in a few brief words with the other one which has been under consideration by us hereto. high has been under consideration by us h which has been under considerable to admit California forthwith, and New-Mexico as soon as she presents a Constitution, and Utah to follow on, some time after New Mexico is admitted, all to be permitted to decide the question for themselves, without any intervention of the power or authority

of Congress.
Well, what advantage is that to the South! You Well, what advantage is that to the South! You know, for I believe it has been already done by the Constitution of New Moxiso as well as by that of California, that Slavery will be prohibited. You know that if New-Mexico comes in, she comes in like California, with an interdiction of Slavery.—What do you get then? what advantage to the South! Sir, it is a one-sided measure—the measure which I am considering. It is all North, and looks not at all towards Southern interests. It is hable to the objection which I have already stated upon a former occasion, and which it is not necessary that I should repeat now. But if you admit New-Mexico with the boundary between her and Texas unadjusted, what may the consequence be! You admit a people and Territory who, if Texas shall establish her claim to the whole extent of the Eastern border of the Rio Grande, may be cut off shall establish her claim to the whole extent of the Eastern border of the Rio Grande, may be cut off by the subsequent action of Texas or of the Supreme Court of the United States. You admit the State of New-Mexico, afterward to be out in two, and a State left in the Union without territory and without people; for I will state what is well known I dare say, to other Senators, that all the papele who can constitute any ground or color of claim for the admission of New-Mexico into the Union as a State, are upon the east side of the Rio Grande, and all the territory worth having is upon the same side of that river. Then it happens, if the plan presented for the admission of these States be adopted and carried, you take California absolutely with all her present limits, and Now-Mexico in such a way that it may happen that you will have a State in her present limits, and Now-Mexico in such a way
that it may happen that you will have a State in
the Union without territory and without people—
Texas, by the assertion and successful prosecution
of her claims, will have taken all the territory and
all the people that would have constituted may
ground for the admission of the State of New M xico.

Mr. President: I approach now the question of
what the consequences must be of the defeat of the

Mr. President: I approach now the question of what the consequences must be of the defeat of the measure now before the Senate, and what the consequences will probably be in case of the accessful apport of the measures by Congress. If the bill is refeated and no equivalent measure be passed, as in all human probability will be the case if this measure is not passed, and we go home—in what confidence is not passed, this free and algorithm. what condition do we leave this free and glorious

people?

In regard to Texas, there is danger, as I have remarked, of two civil wars. There is danger, in the first place, of the resistance of the people of New-Mexico to the authority of Texas, supposing non-Mexico to the authority of Texas, supposing non-interference on the part of the General Government.

But if Now-Mexico goes on to organize herself into a State government, and insists upon the exercise of the powers which appertain to State sovereigns of the powers which appertain to State sovereigns, if we do not see that there is danger of a result, if we do not see that there is danger of a result, if we do not see that there is danger of a result, if we do not see that there is danger of a result, if we do not see that there is danger of a result, if we do not see that there is danger of a result in a result was originating between Texas, and, if you please, the thoops of the United States that may come in aid of Now Mexico Assuming that may come in aid of Now Mexico Assuming that may come in aid of Now Mexico Assuming that may come in aid of Now Mexico Assuming the part of the General Government is subspicion, and the suitares against the plan! It is an absurdity let us now take up the measures a gitation and see how there could be greater agitation after the self-time of this general system of Compromise, when they agitate about the plan! It is an absurdity!

Let us now take up the measures if you please. There will the without its adoption. Let us begin and go over the whole five measures if you please. There is California—She is admitted into the Union;—is California—She is admitted into the declamatory and they espowe, then they explose, the feed made to the suitares against the plan! It is an absurdity!

Let us now take up the measures if you please. There will the saitares against the plan! It is an absurdity!

Let us now take ap the plan! It is an absurdity.

Let us now take up the measures is detail, and see how there could be greater agitation and see how there could be greater agitation and see how there could be gr

which we have the advantage of no light what-ever. But we know that the Administration which has jost passed out of power, would, in that contingency, have repelled the attack made by Texas. If the present Administration should feel throughout upon itself to repel such an invasion, the consequences which I am to portray are at less possible if not likely to occur. I am not going to magnify the power of Texas. I am not give to magnify the power of any single State. It is with infinite regret, with profound so my and curroire that I hear individual States talking as they occasionally do. Why, air, it was only other day that a member, returned from the Nash-ville Convention, addressed, we are told, the peo-ple of Charleston, S. C. I do not know which must to admire, the gravity and possible consequences which may ensue from carrying out the views of the Delegate to the Nashville Convention, or the ridiculous scenes which occurred during the course of the public meeting. He was applicated most enthusiastically, as I learned from the public papers and as I learned also from a credible gouldenate the meeting. When he delared who was present at the meeting, when he declared that if the South did not join herself to the standard of rebellion. South Carolina would herself rise and fight this Union singly and alone. "Yes," said a gentleman in the sudience, in a fit of most pariotic enthusiasm, "I, with my strong arm, and my long purse, will fight the Union myself, if South Carolina does not."

purse, will fight the think myself, it South observed does not."

Mr. President, I have no patience for hearing this bravado, come from what source it may. At the same time I am not disposed to undervalue its importance as one of many contemporaneous events. There are great interests in this country which are contagious—ay mpathetic. If the contest were alone between Texas and the United States, I think there would be some little probability that the United States night not come off second best in such a contest with Texas. It is possible that the twenty nine other States of the Union might repel so invasion of Texas upon New Mexico, if every other country stood aloof and left the two parties [the United States and Texas] to fight out the contest. I think there is some probability that with test. I think there is some probability that with the gallant individual now in my eye (deneral Scott) in command of our armies, who has already so signalized the glory of his country and himself, we might not come off second best in a contost with Texas alone. But, sir, Texas will not be slone if a war breaks out between her and the troops of the United States on the upper His Grands. There are ardent, enthusiastic spirits of Arkansas, Missouri Louisians, and Alabama, that will flock There are ardent, enthusiastic spirits of Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, and Alabama, that will flock to the standard of Texas, contending, as they believe they will be contending, for slave territory. And they will be drawn on, State by State, in all homen probability, from the banks of the Rio Grande to the banks of that stream which flows by the tomb of Washington. I do not say that this will happen: but I say there is danger that it may happen. If there should be a war even of all the Southern States with the residue of the Union, I am not coping to say that in such a contest—such a fratriciern States with the residue of the Union, I am not going to say that in such a coatest—such a fratricidal contest,—the Union itself, the residue of the Union, might not prove an over-match for Southern resistance. I will not assert which party would prevail in such a contest, for you know, sir, what all history teaches, that the end of war is never seen in the beginning of war; and that few wars which mankind have wared among the manking the second seco

seen in the beginning of war; and that few wars which mankind have waged among themselves have ever terminated in the accomplishment of the objects for which they were commanced. There are two descriptions of ties which bind this Union and the glorious People together. One is the political bond and tie which connects them. The other is the fraternal and commercial tie which binds them together. I want to see both preserved. I wish never to see the day when the ties of commerce and fraternity shall be destroyed, and the iron bands afforded by political connections shall alone exist and keep us together. And when you take into view the firm conviction which Texas has of her undoubted right, when we know at this moment that her Legislature is about to conas has of her undoubted right, when we know at this moment that her Legislature is about to convene, and before Antumn arrives troops may be on their march from Texas to take possession of the disputed Territory of New-Mexico, which she believes to belong to herself,—is there not danger which should make us pause and reflect before we leave this Capitol without providing against such a perilous emergency Let blood be once spilled in the conflict between the troops of Texas and those of the United States, and my word for it, thousands of gallant men will fly from the States I have enumerated, if not from all the Slave States, to sustain and succor the power of Texas, and to preserve her in possession of er of Texas, and to preserve her in possession of that in which they, as well as she, feel so deep an interest. Even from Missouri, because her valiant population might most quickly pour down upon San-ta Fé, and render assistance to Texas; even from population might most quickly pour down upon Banta Fé, and render assistance to Texas; even from Missouri, herself a Blave State, it is not at all unlikely that thousands might flock to the standard of the weaker party, and assist Texas in her stroggles. Is that a state of things which you Senators can contemplate without appreheusion? Or can you content yourselves with going home and leaving it to be possibly realized before the termination of the current year? Are you not bound as men, as patriots, as enlightened statesmen, to provide for the contingency? And how can you provide for it better than by this bill, which separates a relustant people about to be united to Texas—a people who themselves, perhaps, will raise the standard of resistance against the power of Texas—which separates them from Texas, and guards them against the possibility of a sympathetic and contagious war, springing up between the Slave States and the power of the General Government, which I regard as almost inevitable, if Congress adjourns with the admission of California alone, stopping there, and doing nothing else. For, Sir, the admission of California alone, under all the circumstances of the time, with the Provisio still suspended over the beads of the South, with the Aboltion of Slavery still threatened in the Dilatrict of Columbia—the act of the admission of California, without provision for the settlement of the Texas boundary question, without the other cortions of this bill, will aggravate,

of the admission of California, without provision for the settlement of the Texas boundary question, without the other portions of this bill, will aggravate, and enabliter, and enrage the Bouth, and make them reah on furiously and blindly, animated as they believe, by a patriotic zeal, to defend themselves against Northern aggression. I call upon you then, Sir, I call upon the Senate—in the name of the country—never to separate from this Capitol without settling all the questions, leaving nothing to disturb the general peace and repose of the country.

Mr. President—I have hitherto argued upon the contingency of nothing being done but the simple admission of California. Now let me argue upon the contingency of the parage of this bill. What will he is leading effects I—what its reconciling the contingency of the passage of this bill. What will be its leading effects !—what its reconciling consequences ! The Hon. Senator who usually six before me (Mr. Halz) has told us more than once consequences? The Hon Senator who assaily sits before me (Mr. Hale) has told us more than once that if you pass this bill, you do not hush agitation—that you even increase it; that it will become more violent than ever. With regard to that Senator, while I detest his abolition principles, I admire his manly, pleasant, convivial and personal qualities—his goed homor, his power of ready debute, the promptness with which he can carry on a gescrilla light in the Sonate. It will not say that the Sanator from New-Hampabire does not believe what he says; respect for the decorum of debate will prevent me from any log that. But, Mr. President, do you be leve that the abolitionists conceive that more agitation will spring out of this measure than exists now! They live by agitation! It is their meat their bread; the air which they breathe; and if they naw in its inciplent stage a measure giving them more of that food and meat and bread and air, do you believe that they would oppose themselves to its adoption! Do you not believe that they would had [Hale] it as a blessing! (Great laugeter) Why, Mr. President, how stands the fact! There is not an abolitionist in the United States Lieux of there may be some—there is not ter.) Why, Mr. President, how stands the fact I There is not an abolitionist in the United States that I know of-there may be some-there is not an abolition press, if you begin with that located in the city of Washington, and embrace all others, —there is not one Abolitionist in this Senate that is not opposed to this bill—not one of them in this chamber nor out of it any where, that is not opposed to the adoption of this Compromise plan. And why are they opposed to it? They see their down as certain as there is a Ged in Heaven, who sends His previdential dispensations to calm the threatening storm and tranquilize agitated man. As certain as that God exists in Heaven [turning toward Mr.

storm and tranqualize agitated man. As certain as that God exists in Heaven (turning toward Mr. Hatts) your business, your avecation is gone! I argue much more from acts, from instinctive feelings, from the promptings of the beart, from a conscious apprehension of impending ruin to the cause which they especially than 1 de from the declamatory and cloquent language which they employ in resistance to this measure. What' increase agitation, and the satistices against the plan! It is an absurdity! Let us now take up the measures in detail, and see how there could be greater agitation after the adoption of this general system of Compromise, than without its adoption. Let us begin and go over the whole five measures if you please. There is California—She is admitted into the Union—will they gritate about that! Well, there are the Territorial Governments established—will they spitate about them!—There is the settlement of that bour.

frankly to my Southern friends—not resulting from the settlement of the boundary, but from the nature and character of the country—of having that along the character of the country—of having that along that? Then will they agitate about the slave trade in the district of Columbia? That is accomplished. Then, what can they agitate about, supposing the whole system of measures to be carried out. They might agitate a little about not getting the Proviso factored upon the hill—might signate a little about not getting the shift—might signatery itself in the District of Columbia. The Senster behind me (Mr. Seward) has estimated the number of slaves here at a thousand. I think he is mistaken, and that it is a little the number of slaves here at a thousand, it think he is mistaken, and that it is a little more than that. What in the name of Heaven will they agitate about, if these five measures are carried?—When will they agitate?—Who will be their auditory in the agitation?—Here is a scheme of National reconsiliation, a scheme of rectamplation in the agitation? scheme or system which brings into fraterna harmony these whose hands were about to be raised against each other as enemies—a system to which the whole country becomes reconciled. What will they arists about? Where will they get followers and disciples? There is a portion of them—I speak not of the Free Soilers—I speak not of these called the search of the search who from principle are honestly opposed to the ex-tension of Slavery; but of that fanatic, desperate band who call themselves I don't know what—Lib-erty men, or something of the kind—but there are those who have declared that this Union ought not to exist—those who would strike down the pillars those who have declared that this down the pillars upon which stands the most glorious edifice that ever was erected by the arm of man—self-government; and that would creak amid the roins of the fall all this people and all the hopes and expectations of curseives and mankind. Men who would go into the temples of their Holy God and drag from their sacred posts the ministers who are preaching His Gospel for the comfort of mankind and their salvation, and barn the temples themselves—they might agitate. Men who, if their power way equal to their malignity, would solve the sun of this great system of ours, drag it from the position in which it keeps in order the whole planetary system of the universe—they, perhaps, might agitate. But the great body of the people of the United States will acquired in this adjustment, will be reconciled to this settlement by their common Representatives, after near nine months of an anxious and arduous sirugge. The great body of the people of the United States will be satisfied, and will acquire a this great settlement of our set of the people of the United States will be satisfied, and will acquire a this great settlement of our national triels and difficulties, in this, the most momentous crisis that has ever existed in our national history. No. Sir, they may threaten agitation; they may tank of it here and chewbore; but their occupation is gone. They will be stigmatized, and justly stigmatized, as unworthy disturbers of the peace, if they attempt longer to prolong the dissensions and distractions of this country, after we have settled, and so well settled so many questions which have divided us.

But, Mr. President, I am not only fortified in my convictions that this would be the salutary and healing effect of this great plan of compromise and settlement of our difficulties; but I am supported by the nature of man and the truth of history. What is this nature! Why, Sir, after perturbing storms a calm is sure to follow. The nation wants repose. It pants for repose, and entreats you to give it

by the nature of man and the truth of history. What is this nature! Why, Sir, after perturbing storms a calm is sure to follow. The nation wants repose. It pants for repose, and entreats you to give it peace and tranquility. Do you believe when the nation's Senators, and the nation's Representatives, after such continued struggle as we have had, shall settle these questions, it is peasible for the most malignant of all men longer to distrust the peace, and quiet, and harmony of this otherwise most prosperous country!

But I said not only according to the nature of man, but according to the universal deaire which prevails throughout this wide-spread land, would the acceptance of this measure lead to a joy and exultation almost unexampled in our history. I refer to historical instances occurring in our own Government to verify me in the conviction I entortain of the healing and tranquilizing coasequences which will result from the adoption of this measure. What was said when the Missouri Compromise was passed!

Then, as now, when it was approaching its passage, when being perfected, it was said, "It will not quell the storm, nor give peace" of the country. How was it received when it passed! The belistant, the cannons were fired, and every domonstration of joy throughout the whole land, was made upon the acthement of the Missouri Compromise. Nor is it true, as has been unkindly suggested, that Northern men were obliged to romain at home and incur the displeasure of their constituents. There was Henry Baldwin of Pittsburgh, Heary R. Storrs of New York, and others, if I had time to enumerate them, who voted for the astilement of the Missouri question and who retained the coefficience and affection of their respective constituencies. I suppose the Senator was understood—as I understood him—to throw out simething by way of mennes to Northern Senators, to make them swerve from the patriotic duty which his before them of healing the spitched at Gheet, nor any other event which has occurred during my progress in public any other event which has occurred during my progress in public life, over gave such unbound-ed and universal satisfaction as the settlement of the Missouri Compromise. We may argue of the Missouri Compromise. We in from like causes—like effects. Then, ind was great excitement—then, indeed, all the Legislatures of the North called out for the exclusion of Missouri; and all the Legislatures of the South called out for her admission as a State. Toen, as now, the country was southed like him. now, the country was agitated like the cean in the midst of a turbulent storm. But, now, more than then, has this agitation been increased—now, more than then, are there dangers which exist, and if the then then, are there dangers which exist, and if the controversy remains unsettled, more aggravated, and more to be dreaded. Theidea of disunion than was scarcely a low whisper. Now, it has become a familiar language in certain portions of the country. The public mind and the public heart are becoming familiarized with that most dangerous and fatal if all events, the disunion of the States. People begin to contend that this is not so bad a thing as they supposed. Like the progress in all human events, as we approach danger it disappears; it diminishes in our conception, and we no longer regard it with the awful apprehension of consequences that we did before we came in contact with it. Everywhere, now, there is a state of things, a degree of alarm and apprehension and determination to light, as they regard it, against the aggressions of the North, that did not so demonstrate itself at the period of the Mirgouri Compromise. It was followed in consequence of the adoption of the measure which settled the difficulty of Minsouri, by peace, harmony, and tranquility. adoption of the measure which settled the dilically of Missouri, by peace, harmony, and tranquillity. So, now linfer from the greater amount of danger, that if you adopt the measures under consideration, they too, will be followed by the same amount of contentment, satisfaction, peace and tranquillity, which ensued after the Missouri Compromise. Again, another instance of a Compromise which was attended with the happiest effects; I mean the Compromise, in 1833, of the Tariff. I could name a half dozen Senators who said then, as the Senator from New Hampshire says now, that there

name a ball dozen Senators who said then, as the Senator from New Hampshire says now, that there would be negliation still upon the subject of the Tariff. It was said. You have adopted the measure which ultimately will prostrate the praciple of Protection. They will come here at the next restion, and at every session, until they get that Compromise of the Tariff of 1833 removed. Far different, however, was its recoption among the great mass of the people of the ligit of States, and among the manufacturers bemselves. I made the lour of New England in that Fall. The Compromise passed in March, I think, fall that Autumn I made the tour of New England has Autumn I made the tour of New England. land, and never, in my life, have I mut with more demonstrations of a rollal affection and confidence than I experienced at the hands of New England, and, above all, at the hands of the manufactures. than I experienced at the hands of New Edgland, and, shove all, at the hands of the manufactures. Sir, with regard to that Compromise, I take the opportunity of saying that I consulted with the manufacturers, in are paring that bill,—not with the political meanufacturers, but with Dapont and other friends of the North, Mr. Simmons of Rhole Island, and some others not now necessary to be named. I said to them. "How will this measure operate for your interests!" "Admirably," was the reply, "for seven years, until you approach the fail of the measure of duties down to twenty per cent." I told tham what I believed, that before that period arrived. Congress would take up the subject. And I argod the Van Boren Administration to take up the subject and remedity the Tariff—not to go back to the former high duties, but to interpose some degree of pretaction in behalf of the interests of the country, beyond the 20 per cent. They did not do it. They suffered the thing to run out, and when they came down to 1842, the 30 per cent went into full operation, and that year, I believe, it operated very dissociating country to the manufacturers. The Tariff of 1842 would have restored that interest to the North. The North and not the Bouth, chose in the contest of 1844, to bestow their suffrages in a way

hich led to the passage of the Tariff of 1846. Sir. hope you will not understand me as making any complaint on a personal ground. None-none whatever I felt relieved from the response only the situation which my friends, more than my, if, wanted me to be placed in. But it was the little it was New York, it was Pennsylvania, unfectiously, aided by other

Night it was New York, it was Pennsylvania, un intentionally, aided by other Free States, that led bothe adoption of the Tariff of 1866 by the results of the contest of 1866.

Mr. President, I wish i had the physical power to give utterance to many, many ideas which I stall have; but I have it not. I must hasten waward a conclusion. The responsibility of this great measure passes from the hands of the Committee and from my hands. It is an awful and tremendous responsibility. I hope you will meet it with a just conception and a true appreciation of its magnitude and the magnitude of the consequences which may ensue from your decision, one way or the other.

The alternatives, I feer, which the measure presents are concord and increased discord, a service

The atternatives, I lear, which the measure pre-sents are concord and increased disport, a service civil war originating in its causes on the Lower Rio Grande and terminating possibly in its conse-quences with the Upper Rio Grande in the Santa Fécountry, the restoration of harmony and fraternal kindness. I believe from the bottom of my soul that he measure is the region of union. I believe andress. I believe from the bottom of my soul that he measure is the returnon of union. I believe it is the dove of peace which, taking its arial flight from the dome of the Capitol, carries the glad tidings of assured peace and restored harmony to the remotest extremities of this distracted land. I believe it will be attended with all these beneficent effects. And now let us discard all resentment, all passions, all petty jeakousies, all personal desires, all keve of place, all longing after the gilded crumbs which fall from the table of power, let us forget popular fars, from whatever quarter they may arrise. Let us go to the limpid fountain of unatall-terated patriotism, and, performing a solomi prostration, return divested of all soldian, sinister and sordid infirmities, and think alone of our God, our country, our consciences and our glorious Luioncountry, our consciences and our glorious Union-that Union without which we shall be torn into hostile fragments, and sooner or later become the rictims of military despotism or foreign domina

rictins of military despotians or foreign domination.

Mr. President—What is an individual man?—
An atom, almost invisible without a machifying
glass?—a mere speck upon the surface of the immease Universe—not a second in time compared
to immeasurable, never-beginning and never-ending Eternity—a drop of water in the great deep,
which evaporates and is borne off by the winds—
a grain of sand, which is soon gathered to the dust
whence it spring. Shall a being so small, so
petty, so fleeting, so evanescent, oppose itself to
the unward march of a great nation to subsist for
ages and ages to come—to oppose itself to the dust with the second of the subsist for
ages and ages to come—to oppose itself to that long
line of posterity which, issuing from our loins, will
endure during the existence of the world. Forbid
if, God? Let us look at our country and our
course—clevate ourselves to the dignity of pare
and disinterested patriots, of wise and enlight,
ened statesmen, and save our country from all
impending dangers. What if, in the march of
this nation to greatness and power, we should be
huried beneath the wheels that propel it onward—what are we, what is any man worth, who
is not really and willing to sacrifice himself for
the benefit of his country when it is necessary?

Now, Mr. President, allow me to make a short appeal to some Senators—to the whole of the Senate.

There is my friend from Virginia, (Mr. Masos) of
whem I have never been without hopes. I have
thought of the Revolutionary blood of Gronce
Mason, which runs in his veins—of the blood of his
own father—of his own accomplished father—my
friend, and cherished friend for many years. Can
he, knowing, as I think he must know, the wishes
of the peeple of his own State—can he, with the
knowledge he possesses of the public seatiment

friend, and cherished friend for many years. Can he, knowing, as I think he must know, the wishes of the people of his own State—can he, with the knowledge he possesses of the public sentiment there, and of the high obligation east upon him by his noble ancestry, can he hazard Virginia's greatest and meat glorious work, that work at least which she, parhaps, more than any other State, contributed her moral and political power to erect—can he put at hazard this noble Union, with all its beneficent effects and consequences, in the parault of abstractions and metaphysical theories—objects unsttainable or impossible in their nature—while the honor of our own nature State—which I reverence and respect as much as he doos—while the honor of that State and the honor of the Stath are preserved unimpaired by this measure? I appeal, Sir, to the Senators from Rhode Island and from Delaware, my little friends, which have stood by me, and by which I have stood in all the vicinal tudes of my political life, two glorious, patri stic little States, which, if there is to be a breaking up of the waters of this Union, will be swallowed up in the common delage and left without support—Will they hazard that Union which is their strength, its later and a last their strength, its later and a last their strength, it is seen and their greateness? Lat such an will they begard that Union which is their strength, their power, and their greatness? Lot such an event as I have alluded to occur, and where will be the sovereign power of Delaware and Rhode Island? If this Union shall become separate!, new Union, new Confederacies, will arise, and I hope there is no one in the Senate before whose imagination is flitting the idea of a great Southern Confederacy to take possessing of the Balize and Imagination is nitting the does of a great Sociation Confederacy to take possession of the Balize and the mouth of the Mizsissippi 1 say, in my place, never! never!! Never will we who occupy the head waters of the Mizsissippi consent that any foreign fing shall float at the Balize or upon the tarrets of the Crescent City—never! never!! I call upon all the South since we have had hard words, bitter with higher thoughts unpleasant feelings. upon all the South, since we have not hard words, bitter words, bitter thoughts, unpleasant femings toward each other in the great progress of this great measure. Let us forget them. Let us accrifice these feelings. Let us go to the altar of our country and swear the oath that was taken of oid, that we will stend by her, we will support her, that we will uphold her Constitution, that we will preserve her Union, and that we will carry this great, we will uphold her Constitution, that we will preserve her Union, and that we will carry this great, comprehensive, heading system of measures which will hush all the jarring elements and bring peace and tranquility to our homes. Let me, Mr. President, in conclusion, say that the most disastrous consequences would occur, in my opinion, were we to go home without doing anything to satisfy and tranquilities the country upon these great questions. What will be the judgment of mankind? What the judgment of that portion of mankind? What the judgment of that portion of mankind who are looking upon the progress of this self-government as being that which holds out the highest hopes and expectations of amelicating the condition of mankind? What will their judgment be? Will not all the monarchs of the Old World pronounce our glorious Republic a disgraceful failure? What will be the judgment of our constituents, when we return to them, and they ask us. How have you left your country? Is all quiet—is all happy—are sil the seeds of distraction and disminn crashed and dissipated? And, sir, when you come to converse with the partner of your fortance, of your happiness and of your sorrows, and when in the midst of the country? Have you settled the questions which you have been so long discussing and deliborating upon at Washington? Is all peace and all quiet—What response, Mr. President, can you make to that wife of your choice, and those children with when you have been so long discussing and deliboration with when you have been so long discussing and deliboration with when you have been so long discussing and deliboration with when you have been so long discussing and deliboration with when you have been so long discussing and deliboration. What response, Mr. President, can you make to that wife of your choice, and those children with whom you have been blessed by God? Wall you go home, and leave all in disorder and confusion, all unsettled, all open? The contentions and agitations of the past will be increased and augmented by the agitation resulting from neglect to decide them. Sir, we shall stand condemned by all human judgment. We shall stand condemned in our own your constituents, by our own. them. Sir, we shall stand condemned by all human judgment. We shall stand condemned in our own consciences, by our own constituents, by our own country. This measure may be defeated. I have been aware that its passage, for many drys, was not absolutely certain. From the first to the last, I hoped and believed it would pass, because, from the first to the last, I believed it was founded in the principles of just and rightrous concession—of mutual conciliation. I believe that it deals unjustly with no part of the Republic; that it saves our honor, and, so far as it is depended to Congress, saves the interests of all quarters of the country. But, sir, I have known that the decision of its fate depended upon four or five votes in the Senate of the United States, and upon whose ultimate judgment we could not count upon one side or the other, with absolute certainty. Its fate is now committed to the hands of the Senate, and to those five or six to whom I have referred. It may be difeated. It is possible that, for the chastisement of our sins or transgressions, the rod of Providence may be still applied to us.—may be still suspended over us. But if defeated, it will be a triamph of ultraism and impracticability:—a triamph of a most extraordinary conjunction of extremes:—a victory won by Abolitionism—achieved by Free Soliism,—the victory of discord and agitation over peace and tranquility:—and I pray, Almighty God, that it may not, in consequence of this inaxapicious result, lead to the most unhappy and disastrous consequences to our beloved country. [Applause.]

Liquid Hair Dye, improved so as to color ins hair of whickers the momential is applied without the least it jury—it is entirely free from unpheasant oder, and can be washed with the trongest som 'unmediately it is applied without waiting to dry. For suc, it applied as Barcustan to the Market of the Market of the State of the Sta

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Dr. Show's Water-Cure Institution, corer Twolft-st and University-place mil if

EF Lebunon Springs Water-Cure Establishment is now in its sixth year of successful operator.

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The "Grange Rountain Water Cure," at 50. Orange, N. J. see hour's ride by railroad from the City The establishmen has private hatha altached to the pe-detal rooms. Address Dr. MERKES, S. Orange, N. J. fortierns. P. Dr. T. L. Nichola and Mrs. Gove Nichola. Water-Gare House, 87 West Twenty-accorded from Nichola. Water-Gare House, 87 West Twenty-accorded from Nichola or Valued at their residences. Jy17 Im.

City, for 135.4.—Third year of publication; price 30 choise. Containing the names and address of all persons engaged a business, classified under appropriate headings.

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To Mr. H. Jaues Hewitt having become associated with Awart. & Engat, the Printing business in all its branches will be carried on under the firm of Anant., Engat & Hewitt, at 13 and 5 Synce-st. (Tribune Buidtigs: Special attention given to works in Foreign Languages. The configured patronage of our friends and the jubic generally is solicited.

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with all sections of the United States. General office Streak way. Open from 6 in the morning this it at Visitors in New York who are accustomed to transactions with the Officelly Lines in any section of United States, will find it their laterest to cave their patches at this office, to their prompt and correct unitself.

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At the U.S. school agency, 393 Broad way, for respectable institutions South and North, Young ladies of good address and weil qualified in all the popular branches, will do weil to call, especially those whose names are registered. Registering fee St. American, Fracch, and German Music Teachers are in demand. Apply early, full and postpaid. References exchanged.

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MMER BOARD—By the river side on the Hut-Scott—Legaure of Mrs. SENT, at Lower Fort Lee, or This tubles, 4 the bouse south from the Landing. N. B. A stermhost leaves the foot of Sering at. several times daily A FRENCH FAMILY living at Yorkville in a large

The and handsome house, strrounded by a garden, and hing the privilege of a large park, near the rational and works in the oracle at the Omalbus Office, You had a street at the oracle at the Omalbus Office, You had a street at the oracle at the ora

A GENTLEDIAN and his wife, and a four siple genA GENTLEDIAN and his wife, and a four siple genall door west of Elphah av. Pleasant rooms on secondfloor with use of bath room; a very pleasant and healthful
jocation.

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posture. By taking the morning cars by the Now-Haven and idousmonte Railroad, or Harison River Railroad, its Hadson, passengers scrive at the Surings at \$4 ofclock in the Stewnood. Fare through only \$2.50.

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country.

The undersigned baving become the sole proprietor, will give his whole attention to the business, and will be assisted in its management by Mr. David A.J. Growell and other gentlennes of large experience.

JOSEPH H. MARSH.

Schooley's Mountain, May 29, 1850. my31 3aw2nd

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POWELTON HOUSE NEW BURGH.

THE PROPRIETOR of this tavorite and agreeable place of Summer resort takes pleasure in calling the attention of the New-York public to the fact that he is now prepared for the reception and entertainment of either transfers or permanent boarders. The high estimation is which his house is held by families who have spent the Summer months there, he is sure will render an extended notice of its superior attractions, in point of location, eccentry, driven, as unecessary. In this partituitar it has no equal on the indexion River. The lander, as heretefore, will be supplied with every delicacy the markets afford. In addition to the former facilities for reaching Newburgh by steamhouts, there are five trains of care passing daily either way from New-York and Albany. Early application should be made for a selection of rooms. [jeil 2m²] G. DONABI.

TOR SALE CHEAP—A printing-office, comprising four presses, and everything necessary for job work or printing a paper. Any one wishing to engage in the above lustness will find this worthy of attention. The business has been long established, has a large paironage, and will he sold at a sacrifice, as the owner is unable, from sickness, to continue the business. For full particulars, address Box 1,466 R. Y. Fost-Office.

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Having made an arrangement with Mr. A. C. TUFFIGE at
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By order of JAMES S THAYER,

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NORWICE, July 16, 1856. 1

10 GOACS FOR SURSCRIPPTION to the Preferred
Description of the Company will be opened on the 11th test.
All for Transier Office, (T. T. Mervin, Transfer Ageal, 18
bicechana: Exchange, New-York, and remain open for
sixty days therefore, when the Score for such atheription
will be closed until the John of January next.

All persons who subscribe as aforested to the division
to be declared in Juniary next or the preferred stock, will no their necessary which eminerace four shares of oil stock for each survey
on which eminerace four shares of oil stock for each survey
on the declared in Juniary next or their form the life loss, until
said its an meets are paid.

P. T. M. APREMS,
1918 60.

11 VI DENDETTE President and Directors of the Mora divisend from the sarrings of the Company, at the rais
of ten per cent. per anome on the amount paid is, on the
stockholders or their representatives on and after the 64
day of August next, at the office of the Company to the closed from the 26th last until August to P. Per under
Morris Canal Office, Jersey City, July 11, 1800, 1921-2445

P. W. Y. Orris accept service and and Control of the oil

P. W. Y. Orris accept service and and Control of the oil

P. W. Y. Orris accept service and and Control of the oil

P. W. Y. Orris accept service and R. Allago AD COM-

NEW-YORK AND HABLEM RALEROAD COMPANY—The second semi-annual dividend on the old
"capital stock" of this Company, at the rate of two per
cent, with be paid at the office of the Company, 3 Tryonrow, on and after Tuesday, the 6th day of August next.
The Inster books of the old strick will be closed from
Saurriay, 7th July, in 3 o'clock P.M. until Wednesday,
August 7, at 10 o'clock A.M.—Dated July 20, 1850.

1920 181 SAM'L M BLAYCHFORD, Trosurer.

DIVADEND.—BORWICH AND WORGESTAR ANTIGORAD CO.—This Company has declared a dividend of two and one-quarter per cost on the preservation of the preservation of the discount of the discount of the preservation of the Company, 18 Morchant Exchange, North Company, 18 Morchant Exchange, North Company, 19 Morchant Company, 19 Mor

DIVIDEND.—The President and Directors of the New-this day defired a schilanaual dividend of four per cent payable to the stockholders or their representatives on ad-for the lat of August next. The Transfer books will be closed from the 20th inst until that day.—July 1, 1806. ly 15 im.

If YANY - Notice is hereby given to the anoscine the preferred stock of the Morris Canul and Backing Company that the fourth instalment of ton dollars per share, will see payable on the lat of Angust next at the office of the green can in legsay (EV, Suopenbors in Publishedish). 8.3. company in Jersey City. Subscribers in Philadelphia, Sa timore and Washington will pay at the office of E. W. Clark & Co. Jerrey City, July 20, 1850. E. MARSH, President. Jy22 tAuf

SCHOOLS.

TARRYTOWN INSTITUTE.

A SELECT BOARDING SCHOOL for Boys, A STATTYTOWN, N.Y., A. NEWMAN, Principal. A at Tarrylowe, N.Y., A. NEWMAN, Principal.
In this institution young gentlement with the thoroughly instructed in all the branches of an English and Glassical
aducation, requisite for commercial pursuits or entering
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college.

There are two terms in a year, each five months. The fammer term commencing on the first of May, and the Winter on the first of November. Terms reasonable. Circulars containing particulars, references, &c. can be obtained at Spaiding & Shephard's bookstore, 1998 Broadway, New-York, or by addressing a note to the Principal. my20 coddf.

MALE BOARDING BCHOOL, Wilton, Conmedicat—ABEL WHITLOCK, Principal.—Parents
desirous of placing their sons for education to an institution
effering apperior inducements, will please give attention to
the present copportunity. Mr. W. respectfully requests a
perusal of his circular, by which it will be found that all
necessary accommodations are furnished pupils and included in the terms, which are moderate—those under 12 years
of age being received at \$40 per quarter. The building
secreted by the Principal in 1800 is every may commodicus,
and arrangements complete for forty pupils—thity are now
antalped. The location is elevated and restred and is easy
of access to New-York city, being 6 miles from Now will
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from New-York Circulars (with lat of New-York pairons,
to whom reference is made,) can be had at 109 Broad way,
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LEMENCER REAREDING AND DAY SCHOOLs.

I'RENCH BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL.

Madame Hix has removed har Freech and English
Boarding and Day School from 4 Carroll-place to 101
3t. Marke-place near Frester. The new location is open
and any, with a large garden, and the house, a double
one with every modern convenience. Each united those
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tras-clust education in all braceles, to call and szamine
hor testimonials. She has had ourmitted to her care the
daughters of many of the leading femilies of this city and
any refer to all.

S. J. KEWARD,—Lost on Wednesday afternoon, the late late inst. in one of the water closests near the Greenwood Gemetery, a large gold hunding watch, with two gold chains attached. The watch has the owner's name engraved on the outside, (Edwd. White, New-York, 1871) and on the other, the emblems of Mannery and Old-Fellowship. The shows reward will be paid on recovery of the above described watch, at E. DECHAUX, 366 Broadway, or at E. WHITE'S, 178 Cincton at.

CURE FOR DEAFNESS,—MADAME MACHADO, from Brazil, offers a valuable remody for the
cure of Deafness; it speedily removes disagreeable noises
in the bead, and, moreover, is perfectly innocent in its application and use. She is happy to add, that she will show
ten certificates of persons cured within a very few weeks.
Upon statement of case, the remody, with directions, will
be forwarded to any part of the Union. For further particulars apply at 21 Allengt.

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JOSEPH TUCKI
HAND ORGANS Of superior tone, manual and repaired. Also 2 reserved Servation.

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AM DELIVERING the cast Red Ash Goal, Store or Egg, from my yard corner of King and Greenwich, at \$675; \$4 56 from beass. [myd5 2m* | FETER GL/HTOR